1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 go on living as a group even though the new head of the family is not obeyed as he should be and each component man-and-wife family is jealous and resentful of the others.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW FAMILIES

Continuing with the example of the four brothers who have been taken as a typical case of the breaking up of an extended family, it will be found that there are no dramatic ceremonies ratifying the establishment of the four new "chimneys." Sometimes the man who is establishing his own "chimney" will kill a sheep, invite some elders and his maternal uncle, offer them wine, and receive their good wishes for a happy future, while his sons and daughters-in-law and the grandchildren prostrate themselves before him and his wife. Thereafter, four new "chimneys" are registered in the archives of the village instead of one.

Generally speaking, it can be said that family ties among the Monguors are not as binding as they used to be. There is an increasing tendency to separate into small families. The bonds and associations of the clan have resisted change more successfully than the extended family.

596 888 Certain aspects of the family, however, remain strong, especially the gradation of respect according to seniority of generation. Children, from their earliest years, are accustomed to seeing each generation show respect to the generations senior to it, especially on formal occasions such as funerals, marriages, the installation of the chief of the clan, and all ceremonies connected with veneration of the ancestors. They grow up accustomed to this kind of respect, which is as important in the community and the clan as it is in the family. The result is a social outlook in which the individual is subordinated to the family and the community.

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP

601 In the classification of relationship, the Monguors use the same term for all members of the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Thus, I address as "grandfather" not only my own grandfather, but all his brothers and the sons of his father's brothers. The term is *adie*, with differentiation of *sge* ("big") for those members of this class who are older than my grandfather, and *mula* ("little") for those who are younger. Similarly, I address as *anie* not only my own grandmother but the wives of all the men whom I address as "grandfather," with the same distinction of "big" and "little" for those who are older or younger than my actual grandmother. This term *anie*, which is also the polite expression for "madame," I likewise apply not only to the "grandmothers" who are married to my "grandfathers," but to my grandfather's sisters, because they have the same clan name that he has. In other words, his "sisters" are not only his father's daughters but the daughters of his father's brothers—

[13 cont.]

123 view of the highly developed sense of honor of the old man.
115 For instance, he could not be persuaded to dictate the well-
[888] known mountain songs which often contain quite crude observations. On such occasions he would say: "For an old man like me this is not fitting, nor is it for you. Yes, when I was younger ... "Actually, younger people are freer in this respect. But even then they will ask: "Are there no women nearby?" It is not to be overlooked that the old man knew very well that my notations were also to go abroad. He told me about the informant of Father De Smedt, who helped the latter to write books and had even been far away in Mongolia. -- Ordinary uneducated farmers are easily satisfied with the observation: "If you came to Europe, would you not ask what they eat and drink there and what peculiar customs they have? What kind of songs they sing, what gods they worship?" And in fact one can often hear the people say: K'an i-ko jê-nao, k'an i-ko hsi-ch'a, that is, "Let us take a look at the excitement and see what is extraordinary." In view of the ethnic and religious mixture in Tsinghai, the people are in this respect much more generous.

The old man immediately understood that my notations would form a book. And he was proud of helping with it: "You Europeans are to be admired. We Tujen do nothing [14] to preserve our history for our descendants. In some ten years we will have become Chinese; then nothing more will be known of our language, our customs, our religion. And you want to write down everything now so that nothing will be forgotten; your service is great."

115 Another obstacle in taking notes was the informant's age.
124 He tired very easily, made digressions, and at times would interrupt the most interesting narrative by suddenly asking: "Is your father still alive? How old is he? Are you going to Koko Nor shortly?" -- and then everything would lapse into a purposeless digressive conversation. Or he would suddenly feel unwell, would want to go to sleep at once, etc. Apparently he had the following attitude: I am the guest here of a good acquaintance, just as with my kin group; we talk about this and that, go home when we want, and come back... Accordingly, it also happened that he showed up when I was not at home, merely to visit the

[625 cont.]

527 dance and sing, and visit one another. Only after the first full
[574] moon on the fifteenth day does ordinary life begin again.

Many days in advance, meat, cakes, etc. are prepared.
[782] During the night from the last day of the old year to the first
day of the new year no one goes to bed. In the morning an
[888] offering is first made to the gods, the family elders are venerated,
joy is welcomed (3), and the obo is venerated. In the afternoon

[113] 3. [Foreign text p. 628.] Concerning the types of bread, cf. Dom. Schröder, "Ying-hsi," Anthropos, 41-44, 1946-1949, p. 186, Note 3; the entire ceremony of the welcoming of joy is described in the same article.

relatives and acquaintances of the village visit one another.
[628] From the second day on the people make New Year's visits outside the village, renew the animal consecration (6),

6. [Foreign text p. 629.] Cf. section, "The Animal Consecration."

[533] gather in the yard or on the threshing floor, sing legends and songs, and dance. It is a gay time.

[626] Details

Preparation: As much as a week in advance pigs or sheep
[262] are slaughtered, noodles are cut for provisions, the most varied kinds of oil-cakes are baked, especially the tagur bread and filled pastries (3) [see Note 3 above]. It is important to have
[273] a large quantity of barley wine, since a considerable amount is drunk everywhere on New Year's Day. The day before, the
[356] house and yard are swept, lanterns and lamps are made (1), and

[626 cont.]

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1. [Foreign text p. 628.] The lamps are large copper butter-lamps or the small copper bowls. -- If there is no mani-tree, the red lamp is hung on a roof slat in front of the door of the main house. This lamp is very likely copied from the Chinese celestial lantern. The Chinese, too, draw up such a lamp on a tall mast in the yard, like a flag, and let it burn every night. It is called t'ien-teng, that is, celestial lamp.

[356] [177] the window newly plastered. In recent times the Tujen also write vernal sayings on red paper, like the Chinese, and paste them to the door posts. This was formerly not the case.

[573] Night watch: During the night before New Year's Day sleeping is not allowed. The old people say: "Please do not sleep tonight, the gods want to be welcomed early tomorrow morning." Therefore the master of the household stays up with his whole family. They partake liberally of tea, liquor, and the New Year's food, sing and converse until dawn.

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[888] New Year's morning: At the first cockcrow after midnight even the last stragglers put on their best clothes. Only the very old in the family remain lying on the kang. The master of the household puts large, burning butter- or oil-lamps in the room on the household altar. In the yard he hangs a red paper lantern with a butter-lamp to the mani-tree (1) [see Note 1 above]. It is attached to a transverse strip on it. Then outside, with the entire family, he gives the great incense offering, and everyone makes a threefold kowtow to the sky out in the open. The same is repeated before the household altar for the countless other spirits. During this time a stone is made red-hot in the [783] hearth fire, and with this glowing stone all the rooms of the compound are fumigated. At the same time the conch is blown. The fumigation may also be done by women (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 628.] The

527 [626 cont.]
782 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

527 [627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
• 888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

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527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
[776] of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

[787]

7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

192 [628 cont.]
527 The welcoming of joy: ying hsi (Chin.).

[Pages 628-629 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[630]

4. The Age-blessing*

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* See "Notes," pp. 634-635 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[792] Old people, men and women, invite the lama to bless and instruct them. This is a great family festival. It is prepared a long time in advance.

On a certain day acquaintances and relatives come and bring the old person presents and gratulate him. They are [574] treated with tea and cake. There is singing and dancing and a feast is held. The young people fetch the hutukhtu. When he arrives, the women of the village dance, and incense is burned in the yard. The hutukhtu blesses the guests at the feast and the old person.

In the afternoon the age-consecration is performed. The hutukhtu makes a number of tormas, which are carried off. Then the old person kneels on the felt mat before the hutukhtu, is blessed with holy water, receives instructions, and is girdled with a yellow sash. He then resembles a lay monk. The mother's [792] brother determines what compensation the hutukhtu is to receive. [465] The next morning the hutukhtu returns to his monastery.

The consecrated person must now observe special commandments, must withdraw on the first and fifteenth of the [785] month for meditation, and fast and pray. -- Not all people can afford this celebration, for it is very expensive.

[630 cont.]

Details

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The consecrated person: The person may be a woman or a man. He must be advanced in age; usually he is around sixty years old. At this age they are pious and reflective and are better able to observe the prescriptions. Young people are eager for life, violent, and uncontrolled. The consecration is done only by an incarnation, hutukhtu, not by an ordinary lama.

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Preparations: The preparations are carried out in consultation with the mother's brother. He determines the day and the hutukhtu who is to be invited. Since the whole village takes part in the celebration, money is saved a long time in advance. Sheep, pigs, or a cow are slaughtered; oil-baking, bread, and oil-sticks, san-tzu, are baked for provisions; the house and yard are put in order, liquor is distilled, new clothes are purchased, and the gifts for the hutukhtu are provided. The latter, a few days in advance, sends one or several monks who put the room in order for him and prepare the kitchen, so that he may live and eat worthily.

Gratulation and reception of guests: On the day set, the person to be consecrated puts on his best clothes and stays in a clean side room. The visitors, relatives, and [631] guests come early in the forenoon. They gratulate the person to be consecrated and bring a gift; usually they wrap a hada around it, which they solemnly hand to the person. The gifts are put on a chest in a room, usually in front of a household altar. Bread, oil-baking, cloth, hadas, silver money, etc. are given. A master of ceremonies is designated so that all may go according to custom and order.

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Of the guests, the mother's brother is the person of greatest respect. One goes toward him and hands him a hada. When he comes, the person to be consecrated steps down from the kang and receives him. He then hands the gifts to him and is treated with tea and cake in the place of honor. Then everyone together drinks tea and liquor and breaks pieces of oil-sticks into the bowls. -- Aside from the mother's brother, the daughter's

[631 cont.]

527 778 888 husband and the daughter's children must give a hada and money to the person to be consecrated. In return they later receive greater remuneration when they depart.

[431] [574] [562] Feast: The feast takes place in the yard, first for the men, then for the women. Three fields are divided off, right and left for guests, and in the center for the mother's brother with the two closest relatives. These three sit on a felt mat on even ground with their backs to the main door of the main house and have before them a low kang table with the dishes; they are served separately by the master of ceremonies. On the two fields to the right and left, straw is scattered in a square; heavy planks are put in front of it and sometimes also mats, which are to represent the tables. In the middle of each square there burns a fire in which tea and liquor are warmed.

[264] [574] The food is introduced with tsamba and tea, which is taken with butter and milk. Mutton or pork follows; the fatter it is, the better liked and more superior it is. A considerable amount is drunk. Rice follows as the main dish, which is mixed with butter and sugar and sweet roots. -- The women eat after the men. -- During the meal there are always some free, who sing and dance.

527 778 888 792 604 Settling the prayer fee: After the meal, the master of ceremonies pours out liquor for the mother's brother. The sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law kneel down before the mother's brother. The master of ceremonies hands him a hada and starts the negotiations over the price. The mother's brother demands expensive gifts and much money for the lama; the master of ceremonies, through his rhetorical skill, must gradually lower the demands, until finally a suitable sum is agreed upon. Then the sons and daughters stand up, kowtow, thank the mother's brother, and go. This is similar to what is done at the pai-ta before the cremation (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 634.] For further details, see chapter, "Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation." Here, too, the

[631 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 634 cont.] prominent position of the mother's brother is particularly striking.

Arrival of the lama: The day before or early in the morning, horsemen have ridden to the lamasery to fetch the hutukhtu. He comes towards midday and is led into the house with the usual ceremonies. On the threshing floor before the yard gate the women dance and sing with all their might. In the yard the incense offering is burned and the conch [632] is blown. The lama is led to the kang in the main house; there he rests and drinks tea.

[604] After a considerable time, the mother's brother and the master of ceremonies introduce themselves to him, give him a hada, and request him to bless the guests at the celebration. Outside, before the door of the main house, he sits down on a chair, and all pass by with bent heads, the mother's brother first. The hutukhtu touches the crown or the forehead of each [788] one with his heavy prayer book. This is called the lama-blessing, from which the entire ceremony gets its name (2). --

2. [Foreign text p. 634.] Cf. chapter, "Reception of the Lama." I [192] could ascertain no name other than lama ndziala; ndziala has a whole series of meanings, among others: to invite a hutukhtu. Because the age-consecration is the greatest familial religious event to which the hutukhtu is invited, it is simply called the "invitation." It is a ceremony in which a special relationship to monasticism is established through the consecration.

The person to be consecrated does not come, but waits until later.

[632 cont.]

527 778 888 792 The age-consecration: After the usual butter-lamps and little bowls have been set before the household altar in the main house, the assisting lama makes a few tormas, among them a little one. The tormas are placed on a tray before the household altar.

On the floor before the kang of the hutukhtu a felt mat is spread and the little torma is put on it. The person to be consecrated enters, followed by the mother's brother and his children, kneels barefoot and bareheaded (the women without a headdress and with their braids hanging down) on the mat, kowtows three times, and remains kneeling before the torma.

The hutukhtu prays over the candidate for consecration. The latter holds out his cupped hands, into which the hutukhtu pours holy water from his can. He drinks it. There follows a second pouring into the cupped hands. The candidate for consecration rinses his mouth with it and spits the water twice over the torma. He washes his head with the third portion of water poured into his cupped hands. Finally the last pouring follows, with which he washes his face (4).

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4. [Foreign text p. 634.] Washing, of course, plays an important role in all consecration ceremonies; even Buddha images are washed before they become "ensouled." In this connection, cf. also Filchner, Kumbum, pp. 267 ff.; Filchner, Om mani padme hum, pp. 137-141; furthermore the chapter, Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation."

After that the hutukhtu sprinkles him with holy water from the can and throws Tibetan barley over him, on which he has blown three times. He consecrates the water with the spices in advance, after the tormas are finished. For the sprinkling he uses the peacock feather, not a twig from the tree of life.

Now the master of ceremonies, the husbands of the daughters, and children take the torma that stands before the

[632 cont.]

527 candidate out into the yard and throw it away. The mother's
778 brother stays there, and after that only own children still appear.
888 They stand or kneel in the side room behind the person to be
792 consecrated and shut the door, because only a few people may be present. Only the person to be consecrated remains in the lama-room, kneeling before the kang.

The candidate for consecration now washes himself again in the manner described above, is again sprinkled with holy water, and has Tibetan barley thrown at him. The master of ceremonies takes an iron spoon, puts in it some of the red-hot material from the fire-basin of the lama, scatters pounded cypress incense on it, and the lama throws fragrant spices over
[783] it. The person to be consecrated is fumigated all around with this and is now completely pure. The hutukhtu gives the consecration prayer over him and instructs him regarding the com-
[785] mandments that he must observe from now on. These commandments relate to fasting, abstention, the prohibition against killing, prayer, etc. They vary somewhat for men and women. [633] The instruction is given in the Tujen language so that the candidate will understand it.

[292] Now follows the donning of the yellow sash. It is about a hand wide and four to five ells long. It is not supposed to be silk. Silk mixed with cotton is permitted, but usually it is cotton. The candidate must provide it himself. This sash lies before the hutukhtu on the kang table and is fumigated at the same time as the person to be consecrated. It is not sprinkled with holy water. The assisting lama places the sash over the candidate's left shoulder and ties it together under the right arm
[292] with a yellow string that has likewise been fumigated. The cloth has the same name as the loop of cloth that the lamas throw over the shoulder.

Since the consecration does not take place until late afternoon, it has meanwhile become evening. Only now does the hutukhtu partake of the main meal. In the yard, however, the guests gather around the fire, warm their liquor, and sing and dance into the night.

The next morning the hutukhtu performs his usual morn-
[465] ing prayers, drinks tea, and receives his prayer fee: several

[633 cont.]
527 back-baskets of bread, meat, money, etc. -- The guests have
778 already each received a piece of meat or fat and four pieces
888 of oil-baking after the feast the day before. The mother's
792 brother, the daughters' husbands, and their sons receive eight
[431] oil-loaves, a larger piece of meat, and a hada, for they
[465] brought the candidate more gifts than the others. -- After the morning meal the hutukhtu returns to his monastery. He is not accompanied, but the gifts are taken to the monastery for him. A large kettle of tea is donated for the monks there and lamp-butter for the temple gods (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 634.] From this it is apparent how expensive the age-consecration is. For this reason alone it is very much respected. I recall the case of a young man who organized this festival for his aged mother. The people said: "The poor wretch wants to ruin his fortune for the sake of such respect. That would-be-great." On the festive day itself, however, they eagerly participated.

778 Duties and privileges of the consecrated person: The conse-
888 crated person is regarded as a lay lama or lay nun. Therefore,
[792] after death he is solemnly cremated in the crematorium blessed
[766] by the hutukhtu. The hutukhtu who consecrated him receives 12 steamed loaves and three tagur loaves when his candidate's death is reported and must pray especially for him. He also usually performs the death ceremonies.

[784] Now for the rest of his life the consecrated person may no
[262] longer drink alcohol, smoke, eat eggs or the meat of animals that have died or chicken meat; he is only allowed to eat the meat of slaughtered animals. He must abstain from sexual
[785] intercourse and every month he must withdraw for meditation. This is done on the first and fifteenth day; they are fast days and days of meditation. Usually the eighth day of the month is also added. On these days he solemnly makes the

[633 cont.]

778 incense offering in the morning. Then he withdraws to the kang,
888 drinks "empty tea," that is, pure tea without additions and without
[785] food. He meditates and prays on his mani-string. No one may disturb him, even when guests come; he likewise does not concern himself about anything. During this time he may not sleep. Also, he may not go into the temple or to the obo. Only in the afternoon does he partake of a meal, which, however, is better and more ample than usual (5).

[527] 5. [Foreign text pp. 634-635.] Concerning the whole affair, cf. Filchner, Kumbum, p. 199. The ceremony described here is much more detailed than there and also deviates somewhat. The name Upāsaka (or Upāsika) was not mentioned by the informant. Also, he did not know the prescriptions in detail. He did confirm, however, that after each commandment the candidate had to affirm that he would observe it. The old man had not had the consecration performed for him. The people regard the consecrated persons as lay gelong; one is reminded here of the similarity with the third order in the Christian Occident.

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778 It is also clear from the commandments why young people are not considered for the consecration. To be sure, this consecration can be completed at any age at or after death; at that time even young people are no longer capable of transgressing the commandments. The age-consecration seems to be merely the last step of a series of consecrations of laymen which are undertaken parallel with the consecration stages of the lamas. The

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[Note on foreign text pp. 634-635 cont.] The informant once mentioned a kind of baptism at which the dž̌awdzi (Tib.) is prayed; in Chinese this prayer is called hsi-lien-ching, prayer of washing the face. Evidently the [635] ceremony observed by Filchner was such a boy's baptism; Om mani padme hum, loc. cit. Later there follows a second consecration for young people, which is called gā̃nsgur (Tib.) (6) [see Note 6 below] after the corresponding prayer, in Chinese san-hun ching, prayer of the three souls. So the informant told me. Unfortunately I could no longer record these ceremonies.

Word List

Age-consecration: šge lama ndziala- = great lama-invitation.

Master of ceremonies: kā̊nguo.

To fetch the hutukhtu: ġdzō niwa (twice) (or dā̃nwu, if the first time).

Mother's brother: nēgā; achiu (Chin.); ayā̃n.

Mother's brother's son: ku-chiu (Chin.).

Sash: gēdzā̃n (Tib. loanword) (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 635.] gēdzā̃n: Tibetan gazn = the yellow sash of the lama costume. -- gō̊nsō̊n: Tib. dgoṅ = solitude, soṅ = to go away; meaning, "to go into solitude." -- gēlō̊nba: Tib. dge = virtue, slon = to apply oneself, pa = belonging to; meaning, "one who applies himself to virtue." -- gesnien: Tib. dge = virtue, bsnen = to approach. -- gā̃nsgur:

[633 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 635 cont.]
Tib. dban = force, bskur = to consecrate, to transfer. This is a ceremony of the transference of force, at which each lama receives a secret name (Unkrig).

To admit to lama standing with prayer: gẽsnien dzẽwla-.
[785] To observe a day of meditation: pi-chai (Chin.); gõnsõn (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Member of the Yellow Church: gẽlõhba (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].

Pages 634-635 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[635] 000

5. Customs concerning the Dead and Cremation*

* See "Notes," pp. 650-658 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

763 If someone is close to death, his clothes are taken off,
764 if he is wearing any on the kang. He is washed, shaved, or in the case of a woman the hair is dressed, and tied in a crouching position immediately after the last breath. A piece of cloth is thrown over the shoulder, which is the sole garment of the dead.

764 Then he is put in a death-box, which looks like a portable house, and propped up with straw. The box is placed on the floor in a room, and the closest relatives hold a death-watch there. At each meal the people bring some of the food in front of the death-box, burn paper, and kowtow. Each

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More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, restoring peace in families, defending the position of the women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888] N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

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ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767]

This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888

The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592

Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684

Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421]

Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

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N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [191] [199] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.